

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 201259

EXDIS, FOR THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: RH, PDEV, UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA; APPROACH TO THE GOJ

1. US AND UK ARE PREPARED TO MAKE PUBLIC WITHIN THE
VERY NEAR FUTURE THE PROPOSALS WHICH WE HOPE WILL LEAD
TO A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT. DURING THE LAST FEW DAYS
AMERICAN AND BRITISH AMBASSADORS HAVE BRIEFED THE FOREIGN
MINISTERS, OR HIGH RANKING FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS OF
CANADA, WEST GERMANY AND FRANCE, THE THREE OTHER WESTERN
MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. IN ADDITION WE HAVE
CONVEYED OUR THINKING ON THIS SUBJECT TO THE SHAH OF
IRAN. AS THE PROPOSALS ENVISION REFERENCE TO THE UNSC,
UN SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM HAS BEEN INFORMED OF THEIR
GENERAL OUTLINE. IN ADDITION THE BRITISH HAVE BRIEFED,
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AGAIN IN GENERAL TERMS, THEIR EC-9 COLLEAGUES.

2. WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO GIVE THE GOJ
AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE DIRECTION OF OUR POLICY. IT IS
DESIRABLE THAT THE JAPANESE FEEL THAT THEY ARE A PART OF
A SIGNIFICANT UNDERTAKING TO BRING PEACE TO A PART OF
THE WORLD IN WHICH THEY HAVE A GROWING INTEREST. FURTHER,

WE HAVE ALREADY DISCUSSED WITH THE JAPANESE THE POSSIBILITY OF THEIR PARTICIPATION IN A MASSIVE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC EFFORT TO SUPPORT AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE

(RHODESIA), AND, AS THIS FUND FORMS AN INTEGRAL PART OF OUR PROPOSALS, WE BELIEVE THE GOJ SHOULD BE KEPT INFORMED.

3. CONSEQUENTLY, WE REQUEST THAT YOU CONCERT WITH YOUR BRITISH COLLEAGUE AND ARRANGE A MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER HATOYAMA FOR FRIDAY AUGUST 26, DURING WHICH YOU AND YOUR UK ASSOCIATE WILL BRIEF THE FOREIGN MINISTER ON OUR SETTLEMENT EFFORTS. IF, FOR SOME REASON HATOYAMA IS UNAVAILABLE, WE LEAVE IT TO YOUR DISCRETION TO MAKE THE APPROACH AT AN APPROPRIATELY HIGH LEVEL. GIVEN THE GREATER WEIGHT THAT ATTACHES TO THE AMERICAN VOICE IN TOKYO YOU MAY WISH TO TAKE THE LEAD IN REQUESTING A JOINT APPOINTMENT AND IN LEADING THE DISCUSSION DURING IT.

4. PRIMARY PURPOSE OF THE MEETING WILL BE TO HAND OVER TO THE GOJ THE AGREED TEXT (BELOW) OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS. AMBASSADORS SHOULD SUMMARIZE THE TEXT IN THEIR PRESENTATION, NOTING ITS ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS. IT SHOULD BE STRESSED THAT THIS DOCUMENT MUST REMAIN ABSOLUTELY CONFIDENTIAL. THE CONFIDENTIAL

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OBJECTIVE OF THE MEETING IS TO ELICIT SUPPORT FROM THE GOJ FOR THE PROPOSALS AND TO REQUEST THAT THEY REVIEW OUR INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE AS CO-DONORS IN THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND.

5. IN HANDING OVER THE DOCUMENT IT SHOULD BE EXPLAINED THAT THE GENERAL ANGLO-AMERICAN STRATEGY IS TWOFOLD: TO PERSUADE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE SMITH REGIME TO ACCEPT OUR PROPOSALS AND TO PERSUADE THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS (TANZANIA, MOZAMBIQUE, ZAMBIA, BOTSWANA, ANGOLA) TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE WITH THE NATIONALISTS, PARTICULARLY THE NKOMO-MUGABE PATRIOTIC FRONT, TO DO LIKEWISE.

6. YOU MAY WISH TO DRAW UPON THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS IN MAKING YOUR PRESENTATION:

A. THE US AND UK ARE AWARE OF JAPAN'S GREAT INTEREST IN SEEING AN END TO THE RHODESIAN CRISIS AND THE CREATION OF A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT THAT WILL LEAD TO POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STABILITY IN THE AREA. IN

DECEMBER 1976 WE APPROACHED THE GOJ ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF JAPANESE CONTRIBUTION TO THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND. AS OF A FEW MONTHS AGO, WE UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS MATTER WAS STILL UNDER CONSIDERATION. WE WOULD ASK THAT YOU REVIEW YOUR THINKING. WE VIEW THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND AS AN INTEGRAL ELEMENT OF THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS. HOWEVER, OUR APPROACH TODAY IS NOT ONLY TO SEEK FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION OF A CONTRIBUTION, BUT ALSO TO ELICIT JAPAN'S SUPPORT FOR ALL ELEMENTS OF THE SETTLEMENT.

(B) THE US AND THE UK HAVE MADE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS IN FORMULATING A COMPREHENSIVE PROPOSAL FOR AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION, ARRANGEMENTS FOR A TRANSITIONAL CONFIDENTIAL

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CARETAKER GOVERNMENT AND AN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FUND. WE BELIEVE THAT OUR SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS ARE FAIR TO ALL PARTIES AND CONSTITUTE A SOUND BASIS FOR SETTLEMENT.

(C) THE CONSTITUTION OF AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE MUST, TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO INTERNATIONAL OPINION, INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING BASIC ELEMENTS: DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS BASED ON ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE, GUARANTEED INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, AND GUARANTEES OF PENSION AND PROPERTY RIGHTS. WE ARE APPROACHING THE TIME WHEN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS WILL BE LAID BEFORE THE PRINCIPAL PARTIES AND WORLD OPINION. THE LATTER CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED MOST SUCCESSFULLY IN A PRESENTATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS.

(D) THE UN WILL BE ASKED TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN OVERSEEING A FAIR AND IRREVERSIBLE TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE. A UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE WILL ASSIST A BRITISH-APPOINTED RESIDENT COMMISSIONER IN THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER AND CONVERSION TO MAJORITY RULE DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.

(E) WE MUST BE REALISTIC AND ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THERE ARE STILL MAJOR DISAGREEMENTS WHICH DIVIDE SMITH AND THE NATIONALISTS FROM ONE ANOTHER. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT BY ENLISTING THE SUPPORT OF THE "FRONT LINE, STATES (TANZANIA, ZAMBIA, BOTSWANA, MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA), WE CAN ENCOURAGE THE NATIONALISTS TO VIEW OUR PROPOSALS SYMPATHETICALLY.

(F) WE ASSUME THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS CAN, IF THEY CHOOSE, CONVINCE SMITH OF THE NEED TO ACQUIESCE IN THE SETTLEMENT, STEP DOWN AND TURN OVER POWER TO A CARETAKER CONFIDENTIAL

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GOVERNMENT.

(G) FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN AND SECRETARY VANCE PRESENTED THE GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE PROPOSALS TO SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA IN LONDON ON AUGUST 12. PRIOR TO THAT TIME PRESIDENT CARTER HAD DISCUSSED THE ISSUE WITH TANZANIAN PRESIDENT NYERERE DURING HIS TRIP TO THE UNITED STATES. NYERERE HAS UNDERTAKEN TO ORGANIZE A MEETING OF FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AT WHICH DR. OWEN AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN THE PLAN IN DETAIL. THE MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE IN LUSAKA ON AUGUST 27-28. DR. OWEN AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG WILL ALSO EXPLAIN THE PROPOSALS IN DEPTH TO THE NATIONALIST LEADERS, TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SMITH REGIME AND AGAIN TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.

H. WE EXPECT THAT THE PLAN ITSELF WILL BE MADE PUBLIC SHORTLY THEREAFTER AND PRESENTED TO WORLD OPINION THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS. THE UN WILL BE ASKED TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS, ESPECIALLY DURING THE CRUCIAL TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. WE HAVE BRIEFED SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM ABOUT OUR PROPOSALS.

I. WE SEEK NO COMMITMENT FROM THE GOJ TODAY. HOWEVER, IT WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL IN THE WEEKS AHEAD IF, IN OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH THE PRINCIPAL PARTIES, WE COULD SAY THAT OUR ALLIES FULLY SUPPORT OUR EFFORTS. IN PARTICULAR WE WOULD APPRECIATE AN INDICATION FROM THE GOJ OF SUPPORT FOR THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS AND A WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER SERIOUSLY A CONTRIBUTION TO THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND ONCE ESTABLISHED.

7. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DOCUMENT WHICH YOU SHOULD HAND OVER TO GOJ DURING THE MEETING:

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R?ODESIA: PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT

1. ON 10 MARCH 1977 THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS AGREED TO WORK TOGETHER ON A JOINT PEACE INITIATIVE TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA. THE OBJECTIVE WAS AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE WITH MAJORITY RULE IN 1978.

2. TO SUCCEED, ANY SETTLEMENT MUST COMMAND THE SUPPORT OF THOSE PEOPLE OF GOODWILL OF ALL RACES AND CREEDS WHO INTEND TO LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE AS CITIZENS OF ZIMBABWE. AMONGST THESE PEOPLE THERE ARE NOW MANY CONFLICTING INTERESTS AND VIEWS. THERE IS AN ATMOSPHERE OF DEEP DISTRUST. THE ARMED STRUGGLE HAS LED TO THE LOSS OF MANY LIVES AND TO MUCH HUMAN SUFFERING. THE ECONOMY HAS BEEN GRAVELY WEAKENED. BUT THERE IS SURELY ONE OVERRIDING COMMON INTEREST, THAT PEACE SHOULD BE RESTORED AND THAT GOVERNMENT WITH THE CONSENT AND IN THE INTEREST OF ALL THE PEOPLE SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED.

3. IN APRIL THE BRITISH FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY TOURED THE AREA AND MET ALL THE PARTIES TO THE PROBLEM AS WELL AS THE PRESIDENTS OF THE FIVE FRONT-LINE STATES, THE PRIME MINISTER OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE COMMISSIONER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF NIGERIA. HE SET OUT THE ELEMENTS WHICH, TAKEN TOGETHER, COULD IN THE VIEW OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS COMPRISE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, AS FOLLOWS:

(A) A CONSTITUTION FOR INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE WHICH WOULD PROVIDE FOR

(1) A DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT, WITH THE CONFIDENTIAL

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WIDEST POSSIBLE FRANCHISE:

(2) A BILL OF RIGHTS TO PROTECT INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS ON THE BASIS OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE BILL WOULD BE QUOTE ENTRENCHED UNQUOTE SO THAT AMENDMENT OF IT WOULD BE MADE SUBJECT TO SPECIAL LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURES AND IT WOULD GIVE THE RIGHT TO AN INDIVIDUAL WHO BELIEVED HIS RIGHTS WERE BEING INFRINGED TO SEEK REDRESS THROUGH THE COURTS:

(3) AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY.

(B) A TRANSITION PERIOD COVERING THE SURRENDER OF POWER BY THE PRESENT REGIME, THE INSTALLATION OF A NEUTRAL CARETAKER ADMINISTRATION WHOSE PRIMARY ROLE, IN

ADDITION TO ADMINISTERING THE COUNTRY, WOULD BE THE ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS IN CONDITIONS OF PEACE AND SECURITY AND THE PREPARATION OF THE COUNTRY FOR THE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. THIS PERIOD IT WAS ENVISAGED, WOULD BE AS SHORT AS POSSIBLE, AND IN ANY CASE NOT MORE THAN SIX MONTHS:

(C) THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONALLY CONSTITUTED AND MANAGED DEVELOPMENT FUND (THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND).

4. FOLLOWING THAT TOUR, DR. OWEN AND MR. VANCE MET IN LONDON ON 6 MAY AND AGREED TO CARRY FORWARD THEIR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES ON THE BASIS OF THESE PROPOSALS. TO THIS END THEY ESTABLISHED A JOINT CONSULTATIVE GROUP. THE GROUP MET ALL THE PARTIES ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS IN LONDON AND IN AFRICA AND CARRIED OUT DETAILED TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM. IN PARALLEL, THE GOVERNMENTS OF INTERESTED COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN KEPT INFORMED GENERALLY OF THE PROGRESS OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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CONSULTATIONS.

5. ON THE BASIS OF THESE CONSULTATIONS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN FULL AGREEMENT WITH THE US GOVERNMENT, HAVE NOW DECIDED TO PUT FIRM PROPOSALS FORWARD, COVERING THE THREE ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM DESCRIBED ABOVE. IN DOING SO THEY EMPHASIZE THAT THE THREE ASPECTS ARE INTIMATELY LINKED AND MUST BE JUDGED AS A WHOLE. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR EVERY SINGLE ASPECT OF A SETTLEMENT TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO EVERYONE. THE BEST, IF NOT THE ONLY, HOPE FOR A SETTLEMENT IS A BALANCED AND FAIR PACKAGE IN WHICH, THOUGH NO ONE MAY ACHIEVE ALL HIS AIMS, EVERYONE CAN SEE HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

THE CONSTITUTION

6. IT IS PROPOSED THAT THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION SHOULD PROVIDE THAT ZIMBABWE WOULD BE A SOVEREIGN REPUBLIC. PROVISION WOULD BE MADE FOR DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS ON THE BASIS OF ONE MAN, ONE VOTE AND ONE WOMAN, ONE VOTE, FOR A SINGLE-CHAMBER NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. ELECTIONS WOULD BE ON THE BASIS OF SINGLE-MEMBER CONSTITUENCIES. DETAILED CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS ARE SET OUT AT ANNEX A TO THIS DOCUMENT. THE PROPOSALS SHOULD NOT NECESSARILY BE TAKEN AS EXCLUDING ALTERNATIVE POSSIBILITIES IN CERTAIN AREAS WHICH DO NOT GO TO THE HEART OF THE CONSTITUTION: EG PROVISION IS MADE FOR AN EXECUTIVE PRESIDENT WITH A VICE-PRESIDENT, BUT THERE

MIGHT INSTEAD BE A CONSTITUTIONAL PRESIDENT AND A PRIME MINISTER, IN WHICH CASE MANY OF THE POWERS WHICH IT IS PROPOSED TO VEST IN THE PRESIDENT WOULD BE VESTED IN THE PRIME MINISTER OR WOULD BE EXERCISED BY THE PRESIDENT CONFIDENTIAL

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ON THE ADVICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER.

7. DISCRIMINATION WOULD BE FORBIDDEN BY A BILL OF RIGHTS PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS. AS DESCRIBED ABOVE (PARA 3(A)(2)) THIS BILL OF RIGHTS WOULD BE ENTRENCHED IN THE CONSTITUTION AND WOULD BE JUSTICIABLE SO THAT AGGRIEVED INDIVIDUALS COULD ENFORCE THEIR RIGHTS THROUGH THE COURTS. THE BILL OF RIGHTS WOULD PERMIT THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE TO INTRODUCE MEASURES OF LAND REFORM WHILE GUARANTEEING THE RIGHT TO PRIVATE PROPERTY. THE CONSTITUTION WOULD ALSO ESTABLISH AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY AND AN INDEPENDENT PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION TO ENSURE AN EFFICIENT AND NON-POLITICAL CIVIL SERVICE.

8. THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE WOULD INHERIT THE ASSETS AND DEBTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA AND WOULD TAKE OVER PAST AND PRESENT PENSIONS OBLIGATIONS IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR, THE RIGHTS OF THE PENSIONERS BEING GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION. THE CONSTITUTION WOULD CONTAIN THE BASIC PROVISIONS REGULATING ZIMBABWE CITIZENSHIP AND THESE WOULD BE ENTRENCHED. THE QUESTION WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE ANY RESTRICTIONS ON THE POSSESSION OF DUAL CITIZENSHIP AND IF SO, WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE AN EXTENDED PERIOD DURING WHICH THE CHOICE MUST BE MADE, WOULD BE A MATTER FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION WITH THE PARTIES.

9. THE COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS IN LONDON EXPRESSED THE UNANIMOUS HOPE THAT ZIMBABWE WOULD SOON BECOME A MEMBER OF THE COMMONWEALTH. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL DO EVERYTHING TO FACILITATE THIS.

THE TRANSITION

10. IT IS A BASIC PREMISE OF THE BRITISH AND US
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GOVERNMENTS THAT THE PRESENT ILLEGAL REGIME WILL SURRENDER POWER SO THAT THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION MAY BE INSTALLED PEACEFULLY. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WILL TAKE SUCH STEPS AS SEEM TO THEM APPROPRIATE TO SECURE THE TRANSFER OF POWER BY MR. SMITH (OR HIS SUCCESSOR) ON A DAY TO BE AGREED.

11. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL PLACE BEFORE THE

SECURITY COUNCIL THEIR PROPOSAL FOR THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION (ANNEX A) AND ALSO THEIR PROPOSAL FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY OF RHODESIA DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD LEADING UP TO INDEPENDENCE. THE LATTER WILL COMPRISE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

(A) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, EITHER UNDER EXISTING STATUTORY POWERS OR UNDER NEW POWERS ENACTED FOR THE PURPOSE, OF A RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND A DEPUTY. THE ROLE OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WILL BE TO ADMINISTER THE COUNTRY, TO ORGANIZE AND CONDUCT THE GENERAL ELECTION WHICH, WITHIN A PERIOD NOT EXCEEDING SIX MONTHS, WILL LEAD TO INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE, AND TO TAKE COMMAND, AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, OF ALL ARMED FORCES IN RHODESIA, APART FROM THE UNITED NATIONS ZIMBABWE FORCE.

(B) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN, ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, OF A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WHOSE ROLE WILL BE TO WORK WITH THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND TO OBSERVE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF THE ELECTIONS IS FAIR AND IMPARTIAL:

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(C) THE ESTABLISHMENT BY RESOLUTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF A UNITED NATIONS ZIMBABWE FORCE WHOSE ROLE MAY INCLUDE: 1) THE SUPERVISION OF THE CEASEFIRE (SEE BELOW); 2) SUPPORT FOR THE CIVIL POWER; 3) LIAISON WITH THE EXISTING RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES AND WITH THE FORCES OF THE LIBERATION AR;IES. THE SECRETARY GENERAL WILL BE INVITED TO APPOINT A REPRESENTATIVE TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS BEFORE THE TRANSITION PERIOD WITH THE BRITISH RESIDENT COMMISSIONER-DESIGNATE AND WITH ALL THE PARTIES WITH A VIEW TO ESTABLISHING IN DETAIL THE RESPECTIVE ROLES OF ALL THE FORCES IN RHODESIA.

(D) THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD WILL LIE WITH THE POLICE FORCES. THEY WILL BE UNDER THE COMMAND OF A COMMISSIONER OF POLICE WHO WILL BE APPOINTED BY AND RESPONSIBLE TO THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER. THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN MAY APPOINT LIAISON OFFICERS TO THE POLICE FORCES:

(E) THE FORMATION, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION, OF A

NEW ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY WHICH WILL IN DUE COURSE
REPLACE ALL EXISTING ARMED FORCES IN RHODESIA AND WILL

BE THE ARMY OF THE FUTURE INDEPENDENT STATE OF ZIMBABWE;

(F) THE ESTABLISHMENT BY THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER OF
AN ELECTORAL AND BOUNDARY COMMISSION, WITH THE ROLE OF
CARRYING OUT THE REGISTRATION OF VOTERS, THE DELIMITATION
OF CONSTITUENCIES AND THE HOLDING OF A GENERAL
ELECTION FOR THE PURPOSES OF THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTI-
TUTION. ON THE AGREED DAY ON WHICH POWER IS TRANSFERRED
TO THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION (PARA 10 ABOVE), A
CEASE FIRE WILL COME INTO EFFECT WITHIN RHODESIA AND
MEASURES WILL BE TAKEN TO LIFT SANCTIONS.
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12. AN OUTLINE OF THE TRANSITIONAL CONSTITUTION IS AT
ANNEX B.

THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND

13. THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND, JOINTLY SPONSORED BY
THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS, WILL HAVE AS A TARGET A
MINIMUM APPROACHING ONE BILLION DOLLARS AND A MAXIMUM
RATHER LESS THAN ONE AND A HALF BILLION DOLLARS, TO
WHICH GOVERNMENTS IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD WILL BE
ASKED TO CONTRIBUTE. ITS PURPOSE WILL BE TO PROVIDE
FUNDS FOR THE ECONOMIC STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF AN
INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE THROUGH ASSISTANCE TO VARIOUS
SECTORS AND PROGRAMMES SUCH AS RURAL DEVELOPMENT,
EDUCATION, HEALTH, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE,
AND RESETTLEMENT AND TRAINING SCHEMES FOR AFRICANS,
INCLUDING THOSE AFFECTED BY THE PRESENT CONFLICT. THE
OPERATIONS OF THE FUND WOULD HELP TO ENSURE THAT THE
OBLIGATIONS OF THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT UNDER THE SETTLE-
MENT WILL NOT INHIBIT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE
FOR LACK OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND THEREBY ALSO HELP TO
REASSURE THOSE WHO MAY FEAR THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT MAY
BE UNABLE TO CARRY OUT THESE OBLIGATIONS. THE ESTABLISH-
MENT AND CONTINUED OPERATION OF THE FUND ARE PREDICATED
UPON THE ACCEPTANCE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TERMS OF
THE SETTLEMENT AS A WHOLE. A MORE DETAILED ACCOUNT OF
THE PROPOSED FUND IS AT ANNEX C.

CONCLUSION:

14. THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS BELIEVE THAT THE
ABOVE PROPOSALS PROVIDE FOR ALL THE CITIZENS OF THE
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INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE SECURITY, BUT NOT PRIVILEGE, UNDER THE RULE OF LAW, EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION, AND THE RIGHT TO BE GOVERNED BY A GOVERNMENT OF THEIR OWN CHOICE. THEY ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE PROPOSED

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE TRANSFER OF POWER ARE CALCULATED TO ENSURE A QUICK, ORDERLY AND PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. THEY HAVE AGREED TO USE THEIR JOINT INFLUENCE TO THE FULL TO PUT THE PROPOSALS INTO EFFECT. BUT A LASTING SETTLEMENT CANNOT BE IMPOSED FROM OUTSIDE: IT IS THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE WHO MUST ACHIEVE THEIR OWN INDEPENDENCE. THESE PROPOSALS OFFER THEM A WAY. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS URGE THEM TO SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY. CHRISTOPHER

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